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## ASHTORETH, THE GODDESS OF THE ZIDONIANS.

THE great antiquity of historical monuments, both in Babylonia and in Egypt, creates, so to speak, an illusion of perspective. We forget that the pastoral life of the wilderness, though by its very nature it could leave no memorials such as these, is yet in its essence more nearly primitive, and may well be actually older, than the life of cultivated lands and of cities, the religion of great temples, and the polity of settled states. It may indeed be doubted whether, in their natural condition, the fertile valleys of the Nile and the Euphrates were so well fitted to sustain the life of man as the less favoured regions of Arabia. It is certain that even to-day the tongue of the desert is less changed from the primitive Semitic than the Hebrew of the Scriptures or the Assyrian of the monuments<sup>1</sup>. The Babylonian Pantheon comes to us as shaped and adorned by the influence of established priesthoods and the growth of literature during ages of civilization, and we must not expect to find in it a mirror of primitive religion.

It is sometimes incorrectly said that the Hebrew Bible contains no word for "goddess." In truth the well-known conjunction of הבעלים and העשתרות corresponds closely to the Assyrian *ilāni u-ištarāti*, and cannot well be rendered otherwise than by "the gods" and "the goddesses." Neither Bel nor Ishtar is in origin a proper name. The former may indeed be applied to a particular deity, or

<sup>1</sup> See Driver, *Tenses*, 3rd ed., § 180, and Sweet, *History of Language* ("Temple Primers"), pp. 20, 30, 31, 82, 83. Cf. also A. Yahuda, *Die biblische Exegese in ihren Beziehungen zur semitischen Philologie* (Berlin, 1906). But compare Gesenius-Kautzsch, Eng. trans., p. 7, note 1.

even a supreme God—the God of Nippur, of Babylon, or of Israel<sup>1</sup>; but it remains essentially a common noun, and the same is true of the latter. And when we ask the meaning of *ilu*, it may be well to bear in mind that in the expressions cited, *ilāni* are equivalent to בעלים, and that both supply the complement of *‘ashtaroth*.

We may form a probable conception of the early Semites as living in nomad clans, constituted by the tie of female kinship; deeming themselves, in accordance with the habits of primitive thought, akin to the flocks from which they derived their sustenance, drawing no distinction in kind between the spirit of man and that of the beast, between spirits of the dead and those of the living, or between gods and spirits of the dead; tracing therefore the ancestry alike of their flocks and of themselves to a common divine mother, ambiguous whether woman or ewe, from whose favour and protection they sought the two great blessings which formed the essential conditions of their life; for her daughters, of the flock as of the clan, a numerous offspring and a safe delivery; for her sons, victory against their enemies. Such, I cannot doubt, was the “Rachel” or “Ephrath,” the *Ewe, that maketh fruitful*, from whom the chief tribes of Northern Israel traced their descent. She it was who, we read, died in giving birth to a son;—a spirit, therefore, either dangerous or propitious to women in travail. Would we know with what intent she was worshipped at the sacred pillar, or מצבה, which marked her reputed grave, we need but turn to the striking parallel in Mr. Hartland’s *Legend of Perseus*—a repertory of usage and belief not less valuable than *The Golden Bough* :—

“The Tusayan, one of the pueblo tribes of North America, have a legend of one of their women who, being pregnant, was left behind on the Little Colorado in their wanderings. Beneath her dwelling is a spring, and any sterile woman who drinks of it will bear children” (op. cit., I, p. 116).

<sup>1</sup> בעלים, 1 Chron. xii. 5; Hos. ii. 18.

This was the immortal mother whose voice was heard in Ramah; "lamentation, and bitter weeping, Rachel weeping for her children; she refuseth to be comforted for her children, because they are not" (Jer. xxxi. 15).

Where the sole wealth, *מקנה* or *עֶשֶׂר* (Gen. xxxi. 16), of a people consisted in their flocks, it is not surprising that the ewes of which the latter were composed should be called by a term (*עֶשְׂתֵּרֶת צֹאֲנִים*, Deut. vii. 13) derived from the root *עֶשֶׂר*. The formation presents no great difficulty. The *ת* is inserted after the first radical, as in the Assyrian nouns, *gitmālu*, *ritpašu*, the adverb *hiṭmutiš*, and the Ifteal of the verb; and then transposed with the following sibilant, as in the Heb. Hithpa'el<sup>1</sup>. And if the divine mother of clan or flock could be called *רחל*, it was equally natural that she should be known as *עֶשְׂתֵּר*. This is clearly the primitive form which in Hebrew might appear as *עֶשְׂתֵּר* or *עֶשְׂתֵּרֶת*, and which, with an affirmative *ת*, has been handed down to us as *עֶשְׂתֵּרֶת*<sup>2</sup>. It is the custom to say that the points are those of *בִּשְׁת*, but this supposition is inapplicable to the first vowel, needless as regards the third, and perhaps not free from doubt in relation to the second. If the informative *ת* may be taken to indicate gender, it is worth observing that *עֶשְׂתֵּר* stands to the root *עֶשֶׂר* much as *אִשְׁתָּה* to *אִשֶּׁר*. It is plain that 'ishtar is derived from 'ashtar, while the contrary is impossible.

Originally, the number of the divine 'ashtaroth must have been equal to that of the clans tracing descent from them. The individual Person of the Epic, emancipated from the bounds of kindred and locality, and in time worshipped from Chaldea to Carthage, belongs to a far more advanced stage of thought. Yet in the energy and independence of her character, in her position of privilege and superiority towards her suitors, she always bears the mark of the matriarchal state, and presents a striking

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Delitzsch, *Assyrian Grammar*, Eng. trans., § 65, No. 40, p. 181.

<sup>2</sup> Ass. *Išārtu*, *Iš-ta-ri-tum*.

contrast to the pale and colourless reflections who form the consorts of Chaldean gods<sup>1</sup>.

An important step in this development was taken by passing from the notion of the many mothers of many clans to that of a general mother of the race, **אם כל חי** (Gen. iii. 20). The idea of the divine mother, especially where she is held to have died in childbirth, carries with it that of the divine babe, and where the men of the clan are still regarded as sons of the matriarch, the child will naturally be a son, since the women will associate themselves with the mother. This typical man-child is the **בן אמי** or **בנימין** of the touching legend—no names of a tribe, but of a god<sup>2</sup>. Approaching the same subject from an opposite direction, we shall perceive that, in accordance with the matriarchal scheme of thought, the first man that was born is necessarily the son of the general mother. In such a case *la recherche de la paternité est interdite*; but suspicion must fall upon the ram-god. From the pastoral standpoint, the first man is of course the first shepherd, himself of kin to his sheep. In Gen. iv. 20, he appears, if I mistake not, under the name of **יבל** = Ph. **יבל** *ram*, having for his brother the first musician, **יובל**, not to be distinguished, except by an artifice, from **יובל**, *ram*, or ram's horn. In ver. 2 of this chapter the first shepherd bears the name of **הבל**, which may possibly be due to an intentional alteration, but I am inclined to seek the origin of both **הבל** and **נש** in legends of the miraculous impregnation of the solitary mother of the race. A vast collection of examples may be found in Mr. Hartland's first volume, above cited. There may be a connexion between **נש**, **נשה**, and **קנישה** (cf. Gen. xxxii. 33), so that **נש** would signify a begetting = *τὸ γεννώμενον*, while **מנשה** would be a predicate of the ram or bull-god, like **יצחק**, or an attribute such as **אפרים** or **אהרן**.

It may prove of importance to observe that in meaning

<sup>1</sup> *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 663-5, 672, 673.

<sup>2</sup> In *J. Q. R.*, XI, 247, I failed to grasp this.

יָבֵל and יִבְל are strictly parallel to אֵל *ram* or *chief*, in the sense of *leader*. As, with the advance of paternal kinship, men came to trace their ancestry, and pay their worship, to the patriarch of the tribe and of the flock, they employed, to designate and invoke the male divinity, the term אֵל or *ilu*, parallel in signification to the matriarchal עֵשָׂתֵר. I may with confidence appeal to the verdict of anthropological science as to whether the conceptions of the matriarchal Ewe and the ancestral Ram, as the gods of pastoral life, be not more consonant with the simplicity and concreteness which mark an early stage of thought than the abstract "goddess of fertility and reproduction<sup>1</sup>," or the vague "goal" or "point at which the eye aims<sup>2</sup>," which, upon too narrow or too subjective a view of the evidence, distinguished scholars have offered to us in their place. Neither Hebrew texts nor Assyrian monuments can be understood in isolation.

If, however, we venture to affirm as probable that the Semitic word for *god* originally bore the concrete signification of a *ram*, we must at the same time keep in mind, firstly, that this mode of thought is neither primitive nor universal, but an incident of the pastoral stage. It would be unintelligible to the hunter or the fisher, while in agricultural and urban life the term tended to be replaced by בָּעַל. And secondly, that the Ram was conceived as a Spirit, a Father<sup>3</sup>, and a Leader, as well of the tribe as of the flock.

In the settled life of Chaldea, Ishtar has her parallel in E-sharra, a goddess, it would seem, not of the flock but of the soil, and in another aspect the goddess of war<sup>4</sup>. The same double office was exercised by her son Ninib, at once

<sup>1</sup> E. B., art. Ashtoreth, § 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Babel and Bible*, pp. 69, 70, 125-9.

<sup>3</sup> Or at first, perhaps, a kinsman. In this point of view אֵל is equivalent in meaning to the terms אָב, אִם, and אִם, so frequently employed in its place in the formation of proper names.

<sup>4</sup> For Esharra see *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 645, 646, 672.

a soldier and the god of labourers, as well as patron of the brick-field and founder of cities<sup>1</sup>. These attributes are of interest to the biblical student, for we know that Ninib had a sanctuary near Jerusalem, and they are identical with those ascribed to Cain. Cain was the firstborn of the general mother "Eve," a tiller of the soil and founder of a city. His name, קַיִן, signifying Spear, shows that he too was a man of war, as we know that he was accounted the first shedder of man's blood. It is extremely probable that the weapon itself received worship, and that the personal Cain was the god within the Spear. Nor would it be surprising, were it possible, to learn that the Canaanites called upon Ninib by the titles of בעל קין and בעל לחם. To the Spear-god, the nomad Kenites also traced their descent, and attributed their wanderings to his crime. And even without taking קַיִן to mean "artificer," it would be very natural to identify the Spear-god with the inventor of implements of metal, חִוּבֵל<sup>2</sup>, to whom he stands much as יָבֵל to הָבֵל and יָבֵל.

Thus far we have been mainly concerned with the religion of the flock, nor have we as yet gathered evidence to show any connexion between it and the worship of the heavenly bodies. In the astro-theology of the Babylonians<sup>3</sup>, the star of Ishtar was the planet Venus, whilst the moon was a great god, Sin<sup>4</sup>. Yet in the Sumerian hymns Ishtar is called the daughter of the moon-god<sup>5</sup>. And in Semitic texts Ishtar is called *bēlit šamē* and *šarrat šamē*, the latter exactly corresponding in meaning to the Hebrew *malkat haššamayim* "queen of heaven"<sup>6</sup>; while the title *šarratu* is borne in like manner by Sin's consort<sup>7</sup>. "As he is the man-moon, she is the woman-moon, his beloved, and the mother of his children Shamash and

<sup>1</sup> For Ninib, see *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 576, note 3, p. 645, note 2, pp. 647, 672, 753.

<sup>2</sup> חִוּבֵל and קַיִן may perhaps be regarded as alternatives, like יָמָה and מְלִיחָה in chap. ii.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Queen of Heaven, § 3.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Queen of Heaven, § 3.

<sup>3</sup> *E. B.*, art. Ashtoreth, § 4.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Art. Milcah.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, Sarah, § 2.

Ishtar<sup>1</sup>." "In the days of the past . . . Ea charged Sin, Shamash, and Ishtar with the ruling of the firmament of heaven; he distributed among them, with Anu, the command of the army of heaven, and among these three gods, his children, he apportioned the day and the night, and compelled them to work ceaselessly<sup>2</sup>."

The matriarch is subject to no lord, and cannot be the consort of a king. Yet it is clear that in these fluctuating conceptions a close relation is supposed to obtain between the spirit of the star and that of the moon. Nor is the reason far to seek. As the orbit of Venus is interior to that of the Earth, the planet can never appear at a great distance from the Sun, and shines brightest when, "in conjunction," it occupies a position between the two, and is in fact a crescent. The New Moon occupies a similar position, and it follows that New Moon and Evening Star appear together in the fading glow of sunset, to herald the approach of night, the season of love. These facts were expressed by making the Queen of Heaven daughter of the Moon-god; Ishtar, of Sin; and Rachel, of Laban.

We must now turn to another region, and a later age, to the basin of the Mediterranean and the epoch of Phœnician commerce and colonization, to the cult of Ashtoreth presented on the relics of Phœnician Art.

It may be said, with some justice, that the Phœnicians had no art, but only an "art-manufacture," a craft without invention, of which the most general characteristic is the combination of motives borrowed, with imperfect understanding, from the art and mythology of Egypt and Assyria; while its specific hall-mark consists in the ever-recurring sign of Disk and Crescent. It is impossible to

<sup>1</sup> *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 664.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 658; cf. Gen. i. 16. Elsewhere the same office is ascribed, not to Ea, but to Marduk, *ibid.*, p. 545: "He lighted the moon that she might rule the night, and made her a star of night that she might indicate the days." The whole passage should be read.



suppose that the Canaanite craftsman employed this symbol without the definite intention of associating his work with the object, or objects, of his religious faith. It would be strange if it involved no reference to Ashtoreth, the goddess of the Zidonians<sup>1</sup>.

The symbol is as old as the period of the Jewish Monarchy, for it is found upon a seal<sup>2</sup> discovered in the foundations of one of the Khorsabad bulls. "It must have been put there before the building of the palace . . . at any rate it dates from the reign of Sargon." It bears the name of עברבעל. And there is another seal bearing the name, and, it would seem, the representation of one אביבעל, who may without improbability be identified with the father of Hiram, king of Tyre—the only Abiba'al in the imperfect list of Tyrian kings.

"The figure of the prince himself is dressed in the Pharaonic costume. He raises his right hand, the palm turned outwards; in his left he holds a sceptre crowned by the disk and crescent ornament. Behind him appears a standard with the same emblem, and above it a hawk with its head turned over its shoulder. In front of the king's forehead there is a four-pointed star" (op. cit., II, 242).

Clearly, these are the symbols of a state religion, though of one which has borrowed much from Egypt, as Rome borrowed from Greece and from the East. Yet we may presume that there was in the first instance so much of resemblance or analogy between the Syrian and Egyptian deities as to render this fusion possible. Thus Maspero tells us of the Monîtû, who from the dawn of history frequented the Sinaitic peninsula, that "they worshipped a god and a goddess whom the Egyptians identified with Horus and Hathor; one of these appeared to represent

<sup>1</sup> "In Sidon Astarte is the principal divinity." "Sidon, the greatest of the Phoenician or 'Sidonian' towns." "In the O.T. the Phoenicians generally are named Sidonians," *E.B. art. Phoenicia*, cols. 3743, 3733, 3731.

<sup>2</sup> Perrot and Chipiez, *Phoenicia*, Eng. trans., vol. II, fig. 170.

the light, perhaps the sun, the other the heavens<sup>1</sup>." And, in the present instance, no Egyptian would have failed to recognize a Horus in the hawk upon the seal of Abiba'al. "Some said that the sky was the Great Horus, Haroëris, the sparrow-hawk of mottled plumage, which hovers in highest air, and whose gaze embraces the whole field of creation<sup>2</sup>." In this case the sky is also regarded as a face (*horû*), of which the Sun is the right, and the Moon the left eye. On the other hand, "whether under the name of Horus or of Anhûri, the sky was early identified with its most brilliant luminary, its solar eye, and its divinity was as it were fused into that of the Sun<sup>3</sup>." This is parallel to the identification of Sin, or Nannar, with Anu, the Moon-god with the Lord of Heaven.

Again, the Sky was regarded as a female divinity, having either the human form<sup>4</sup>, or that of a cow<sup>5</sup>, "a large-eyed Hâthor, of beautiful countenance<sup>6</sup>." Hat-hor, "the abode of Hor," was naturally considered as his mother, and is therefore represented bearing the solar disk between her horns<sup>7</sup>; a piece of symbolism important for our purpose, since it was applied to the goddess of Byblos, the *ba'alath Gebal*, who is thus represented on the stele of king Jehawmelek in the Persian period<sup>8</sup>. But it would in my opinion be a mistake to seek in this direction the origin of the Disk and Crescent. "The Egyptian emblem of the moon became a half-moon with the sun or a star above it," says Prof. Meyer, with a certain lack of precision<sup>9</sup>. If we turn to *The Dawn of Civilization*,

<sup>1</sup> *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 354.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 86, *ad init.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 100.

<sup>4</sup> "Nuit the Starry One," *ibid.*, p. 86; cf. figs., p. 89, and p. 129.

<sup>5</sup> Nuit, *ibid.*, p. 169.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 87.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 88. Note that it is as a calf "that the Egyptians were pleased to describe the Sun-god, when Sibû, the father, was a bull, and Hathor a heifer," *ibid.*, p. 89. This may serve to Explain the *Calf* of Bethel; the divine Child in animal form.

<sup>8</sup> Perrot and Chipiez, *Phoen.*, vol. I, fig. 23; cf. 26, and vol. II, fig. 6. *E. B.*, Phœnicia, § 8.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

at p. 93 we shall find an excellent example of the Egyptian symbol in its primary form. Here there is no question of the sun. It is the Lunar, as distinguished from the Solar Barque, which is represented. The appearance indicated is that which may often be observed at New Moon—the fine and brilliantly illuminated crescent seeming to enclose, and from its superior brightness to overlap, the dimly lighted remainder of the disk. This is “the Old Moon in the New Moon’s arms,” as described by the bard who wrote “The grand old ballad of Sir Patrick Spence.” It is the French “*lumière cendrée*”<sup>1</sup>; “crescent, with full moon shown therein”<sup>2</sup>. In the hieroglyphic character the moon was depicted by a crescent inclosing an imperfect disk<sup>3</sup>. And that this symbol did not lose its lunar significance, even in Carthaginian Africa, may be seen on a lintel at Ebba<sup>4</sup>, where it is at once associated and contrasted with the rayed disk of the sun. On the other hand we have, on a seal, the same rayed disk grouped with, but not conjoined to, the simple crescent<sup>5</sup>. And upon the coins of Cyprus, we find the simple crescent associated with a star of six or eight points, which in this connexion can be nothing but the star of Ishtar, the planet Venus, hanging directly over the temple and image of the Paphian goddess<sup>6</sup>. Here surely the synthesis of Ashtoreth and the Moon has been completely achieved.

Some further light is thrown on the employment of these symbols by a passage in an article of Prof. P. Jensen, on “The so-called Hittites and their inscriptions”<sup>7</sup>. “At Boghazköi . . . we find inscriptions with the winged disk

<sup>1</sup> Perrot and Chipiez, op. cit., II, 268, note citing Clermont-Ganneau.

<sup>2</sup> *E. B.*, art. Phoenicia, § 8.

<sup>3</sup> *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 221.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, II, fig. 47.

<sup>4</sup> P. and C., I, fig. 234.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, I, figs. 58 and 199.

<sup>7</sup> *Explorations in Bible Lands during the Nineteenth Century*, by H. V. Hilprecht . . . with the co-operation of . . . Benzinger . . . Hommel . . . Jensen . . . Steindorff, Philadelphia, 1903, p. 763; cf. p. 271.

of the sun at the top . . . In one instance . . . the winged disk is represented as an eight-rayed star enclosed in a ring. Above it appears Venus, likewise represented as a star . . . In Assyrian sculptures the king has the same winged disk before or above him, and with it very often we find other symbols and characters, the moon and the Venus star being especially frequent." And in a Phoenician bowl from Palestrina, the ancient Praeneste, which may now be seen in the Museo Kircheriano at Rome, we witness the sacrifice which follows a successful chase<sup>1</sup>. The sun's winged disk, and in an inferior position the lunar disk and crescent, respectively overhang two altars, of which, it is worth observing, only that assigned to the former divinity sustains a *blazing fire*.

Of Phoenician *'ashtaroth*, one among the most important was תַּנְתַּ פְּנִבְעַל, the goddess of Carthage. Her name deserves our attention, and I shall venture to explain it, in defiance of the Encyclopaedia Biblica, but in accordance with Biblical usage, as parallel to another divine appellation, עֲשֶׂתֶרֶת שֵׁם בְּעַל. Referring to local divinities (who, I must observe in passing, are not necessarily distinguished from the celestial powers, since these, when worshipped, must be worshipped *somewhere*) the learned writer of the article "Phoenicia" well says that on them depends—

"the prosperity a man desires in his own immediate circle and in the home . . . fruitfulness of field and flock, success in trade, victory in war. To these local deities prayers are made and sacrifices offered, and to them the grateful worshipper returns thanks when the god has 'heard his voice and blessed him,' as the standing formula in the Phoenician inscriptions runs<sup>2</sup>."

Yes; but if you invoke the aid of a god, you must needs call upon his name, and when you pay your vows you must in like manner come before his presence. When, therefore, we meet with divine appellations which may

<sup>1</sup> Perrot and Chipiez, *Phoen.*, II, fig. 267, pp. 343-6 (description of Clermont-Ganneau).

<sup>2</sup> Art. Phoen., col. 3744.

naturally be read "Ashtoreth, Name of Baal," or "Tanith, Face of Baal," we may legitimately infer that in these particular cults the invocation of Ashtoreth was regarded as equivalent to that of Baal, and the presence of Tanith (as *numen loci*) identified with his presence.

I may be told that I am inventing "a mystic doctrine of theology." Well, if the identification of deities originally distinct be mysticism (I should prefer to call it syncretism), it is sufficient to observe that this kind of mysticism played its part not only in the religion of Egypt but even in that of Moab. If Ishtar was identified with Chemosh, why not Ashtoreth with Baal? Nay, Prof. Meyer himself, admitting that "a large class of Phœnician divine names is formed by combining two simple names," and that "other Semitic tribes also thus combined names of opposite sexes"; and while explaining Melki-'āstart as meaning "the Melech who is the husband of Astarte," acknowledges that "in explaining similar combinations of two masculine names . . . there is hardly any other course open than to assume an identification of the two gods to be intended<sup>1</sup>." Then why not take that course?

In one case we are plainly obliged to do so.

"In Cyprus," says Macrobius<sup>2</sup>, 'there is an image of Venus in which she is represented with a beard, dressed like a woman, but with the stature of a man, and holding a sceptre in her hand.' 'This figure,' he adds, 'was meant to unite the attributes of the two sexes, so that it might be considered at once male and female: *quod eadem et mas existimatur et femina*'<sup>3</sup>."

"This deity," writes Prof. Meyer, with some *naïveté*, "never possessed much importance<sup>4</sup>." It is important enough if we want to understand the mode of thought of which it was the product and the expression. An 'ashtoreth who could be deemed at once male and female

<sup>1</sup> Art. Phœn., § 12 ad fin.

<sup>2</sup> Perrot and Chipiez, *Phœn.* II, p. 158.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. W. R. S., *Religion of the Semites*, 2nd ed., pp. 472, 478.

<sup>4</sup> Art. Phœn., § 15.

is very nearly related to the 'ashtoreth who could be invoked as "Name" or "Face" of Ba'al.

And without some such hypothesis the explanation of these titles adopted in the Encyclopaedia Biblica is clearly untenable. *Ba'al-hashshāmayim*, we know, has an intelligible meaning, "The god who dwells in the heaven, to whom the heavens belong<sup>1</sup>," a conception which cannot be better expressed in the English language than by the natural translation, "Lord of Heaven<sup>2</sup>." 'Ashtoreth-hashshāmayim, in the sense of *ba'alath*-, or *malkath-h*-, is at least a possible expression. But *shemē-ba'al* = "Heavens of a Lord," is less probable. And 'Ashtoreth *shemē-ba'al*<sup>3</sup> = "goddess of the heavens of a god," verges upon the absurd, unless indeed you interpret it as mistress of her lord's house, making Ashtoreth the spouse of Baal. In one way or another you must explain the relation, whatever it may be, between the first term of the series and the third.

And so with regard to Tanith *penē-ba'al*<sup>4</sup>. Halévy, we are told, has "recognized" that *Penē-ba'al* is a place-name. Then will he kindly explain why the *numen loci* of "Lord's Face" should be a "Lady"? The inference drawn above supplies the explanation—the goddess was identified with the god.

Now, besides the general consideration that the *δαίμων* may be supposed capable of assuming the bodily form of either sex, I venture to suggest that we may explain this apparent identification of 'Ashtoreth with Ba'al, by postulating a very simple and natural myth, viz. *that the Moon's Disk was regarded as the Face of the Sky-god* — פני בעל השמים. And that such a myth did really exist may be presumed from the surprising fact that its traces have survived in Judaism. I owe to the published papers of

<sup>1</sup> Art. Baal, § 4.

<sup>2</sup> "Lord" being a term of English feudalism, signifying the holder of an estate, like the Horatian *dominus terrarum*.

<sup>3</sup> Art. Phoen., col. 3745; cf. 3749.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., col. 3747.

Mr. G. Margoliouth<sup>1</sup> the Talmudical citations<sup>2</sup>, "He who at the proper time pronounces the benediction on the new moon is as one who welcomes the very presence of the Shechinah"; and again, "If Israel had only been favoured to welcome the face of their Father which is in heaven once in the month, it would have been sufficient for them." To the same writer I am indebted for the acute observation that it was the *moon* "who was seen to gather around him the glorious hosts of stars on the weird vault of night, whilst the sun had to cross the heavens unattended, and therefore unserved"; the moon therefore that was properly regarded as "lord of the hosts of heaven," and is in fact so addressed in an extant hymn to Nannar<sup>3</sup>, as the moon-god was by preference called at Ur.

We are now in a position to understand how Ashtoreth or Tanith, in her lunar aspect, might be invoked, not only as the Name, but as the Face or Presence of the Lord of Heaven, and to ask the question whether such a cult does not imply the superposition of the moon-goddess upon the older conception of a moon-god, Ishtar thus usurping the place of Sin? Such a change might be due to Egyptian influence, or merely to the growing popularity of Ashtoreth, the goddess of the Zidonians. As regards its bearing on the Old Testament, what we want to know is, how early the change occurred? I am still inclined to believe that Rachel-Ephrath, the ancestress of the house of Joseph, is no other than the Syrian goddess, lady of the moon and of the flock.

The gods of Carthage are enumerated in the Greek translation of the treaty between Hannibal and Philip of Macedon<sup>4</sup>, arranged in groups of three. The first of these consists of Zeus, Hera, and Apollo; the second begins with

<sup>1</sup> "The Earliest Religion of the Ancient Hebrews" (*Contemp. Rev.*, Oct., 1898) and "Hebrew-Babylonian Affinities" (Nutt, 1899).

<sup>2</sup> *Tractate Sanhedrin*, fol. 42 a.

<sup>3</sup> Ass. *nannaru* = light.

<sup>4</sup> Art. Phoen., § 14.

the *δαίμων Καρχηδονίων*, which the learned Encyclopaedist interprets "Astarte of Carthage," and then tells us that Tanith "cannot be represented by any of the deities mentioned"! But surely Tanith *is* the *δαίμων Καρχηδονίων*, the especial 'ashtoreth, or goddess, of Carthage<sup>1</sup>. Her position in this catalogue may be explained by the consideration that the "Lord of Heaven" is naturally attended by Wife and Son. Tanith, like her prototype Ishtar, an unmarried goddess, "Virgo Celestis," *עלמה* perhaps, but not *בעולה*, may appear as his representative or manifestation, but cannot be regarded as his spouse. We may picture the *cortège* of the gods:—

"Apollo"	בעל השמים	"Hera"
"Iolaos"	חנת פנבעל	"Herakles."

It will then be seen that she holds really the *second* place, as vicar and visible representative of the supreme god.

Nor is this conception merely fanciful. The second triad is distinctly symbolized by two monuments figured in the work of Perrot and Chipiez<sup>2</sup>. A curious group discovered in the cemetery of Tharros, in Sardinia, is composed of "a large rectangular stele, decorated on its face with a disk and crescent moon in relief; right and left a pyramidal cippus with a double moulding about its summit. All three of these columns stand upon a single base." And a similar group is represented on the well-known stele of *על נבעל חנת* from Lilybaeum, only that in this case the

<sup>1</sup> I am bound to state a fact apparently unfavourable to this hypothesis—the discovery at Bord-el-Djedid of a Punic inscription of nine lines, commencing with these words: "To the Goddess Ashtoreth and to the Goddess Tanith of Lebanon, two new sanctuaries" (*Monthly Review*, July, 1904, "Recent Excavations in Carthage," by Miss Mabel Moore, pp. 133, 134). This is evidence for an Ashtoreth distinct from Tanith; not that "Tanith of Lebanon" was not an Ashtoreth and *δαίμων Καρχηδονίων*. The text is given in Cooke, *North Semitic Inscriptions*.

<sup>2</sup> *Phoenicia*, E. T., I, figs. 174 and 232.



disk and crescent are placed above, and not upon, the midmost and highest of the three pillars. The disk is here so small that it must stand for the star of Ishtar, as at Paphos. I shall presently show the identity of Tanith with the deity of disk and crescent. It is remarkable that this group should occur on a stele dedicated to בעל חמן.

Who now are the inferior members of the triad? The answer is not far to seek. As Ashtoreth, or Tanith, stands to Rachel, so must her consort the "Heracles" of the Greek Treaty, stand to the wrestler hero, of whom it could be said, עקב אל, or נפחלי אל; and so must "Iolaos" stand to "Benjamin," I should perhaps have placed the son, rather than the suitor, at the right hand of the matriarch. If this was the position assigned to him in the *cultus*, it would furnish an explanation of his name.

Evans, in *The Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 41, fig. 22, has given another representation of the triad of pillars surmounted by the Tanith symbol, which occurs on a stele from Nora in Sardinia. "On the Carthaginian stelae," he writes, "it is not infrequent to see three divine pillars like truncated obelisks, grouped together within the same shrine and upon a single base . . . Elsewhere we see two groups of three pillars and the divine symbols above them, and on a monument from Hadrumetum as many as nine pillars in a triple group of three occur on a single base<sup>1</sup>." Unfortunately the distinguished antiquary has failed to correlate these triads of sacred pillars with the trinities of divine persons enumerated in the Greek Treaty.

Of the stelai of Tanith, found by thousands on the site of Carthage, one among the simplest and rudest is no more than a "naïve rendering" of a conical stone<sup>2</sup>, closely similar to that which formed the object of worship at Paphos. The apex of the cone is surmounted by a circle to suggest the head, and crossed by a transverse bar to

<sup>1</sup> Referring to Pietschmann, *Geschichte der Phönizier*, p. 205.

<sup>2</sup> Ferrot and Chipiez, *Phoen.*, I, fig. 29.

indicate the arms of the goddess; these are terminated not by hands but by horns, which, however, differ noticeably from those of the moon, and agree with the Mycenaean "horns of consecration" figured by Evans, in having their concavities turned outwards in opposite directions<sup>1</sup>. (The same peculiarity may be observed in the bronze figured by Perrot and Chipiez, vol. I, fig. 26, "very like an Isis-Hathor." See also vol. II, p. 11.) In a parallel example (ibid., vol. I, fig. 30) these horns are omitted, but the circle representing the head, much enlarged in proportion as compared with the previous instance, is surmounted at a brief interval by the inverted crescent, so as to form with it the familiar group which is the distinctive religious symbol of Phoenician art. Here then the disk and crescent stand for the goddess of Carthage, and the disk is the Face of Tanith, who is the Face of Baal.

"In one of the most curious of these little monuments we encounter a clearly defined Ionic capital surmounted by a crescent moon, which supports in its turn a bust of Tanit<sup>2</sup>." This is as if the worshipper had in fact erected a column supporting such a bust. Now the column, as has been clearly shown by Evans, has a religious character of its own. For the column is in origin the trunk of a tree, and therefore the dwelling-place of the tree-spirit. And we know from many parallel instances, cited by Frazer and other writers, that when the tree-spirit is to be worshipped, a tree is cut down, disbranched, and set up to be held in reverence as the habitation or embodiment of the indwelling divinity. Conversely, when the trunks of trees are employed in the support of a building, a palace or a temple, they do not lose this character. It might well be held necessary to conciliate the spirit of the column, and its stability might be considered to depend on the spirit's presence and goodwill. This is no doubt the reason why the columns figured by

<sup>1</sup> See *Religion of the Semites*, 2nd ed., p. 478.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., I, 52, fig. 16.

Evans, as represented upon Cretan monuments, have the "horns of consecration" placed at their base, implying the identification of the indwelling spirit with the god of the herd, or the victim taken from it<sup>1</sup>. Suppose the horns of a ram attached to the head or "capital" of the column<sup>2</sup>, and you have a very probable origin for the volutes of the Ionic order, with which may be compared the use of skulls of oxen on the frieze of Roman temples. Now compare the description and figure given by Maspero<sup>3</sup>, and cited in a former volume of this REVIEW, of the Egyptian representations in which the bust of the goddess, Hâthor or another, who is conceived as inhabiting the sycamore on the edge of the desert, appears from amid her sheltering foliage, with the figure in Perrot and Chipiez<sup>4</sup> of a stele discovered in 1867 on the site of Adrumetum, and described in the following terms:—

"The most interesting stele in the collection appears to represent a portion of the façade of some building. Two columns support a rich and complex entablature . . . The shaft is deeply fluted in its lower part, and modelled above into the bust of a woman with an Egyptian head-dress; the bust has arms which are folded on the chest, and support the disk and crescent; on the head a globe between two horns<sup>5</sup>."

The solar globe between the horns of the celestial cow is the well-known symbol of Hathor, adopted by the goddess, the Lady of Gebal<sup>6</sup>. But the lunar disk and crescent, nursed so to speak, in the bosom of the goddess, occurs on a stele of Tanith figured by Perrot and Chipiez,

<sup>1</sup> Probably the column was set upon the victim's carcase. The supposition throws a ghastly light on the expression of 1 Kings xvi. 34, Joshua vi. 26.

<sup>2</sup> Compare the capitals of the Temple of Concord at Rome, where the volutes consist of rams' heads. Anderson and Spiers, *Architecture of Greece and Rome*, 150, 177.

<sup>3</sup> *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 84, n. 1, p. 121, n. 5, and figure on p. 185.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, II, fig. 61; cf. I, figs. 51, 52, 53. See also Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 46 with note 7.

<sup>5</sup> Perrot and Chipiez, *op. cit.*, II, p. 64.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, I, fig. 23; II, fig. 6.

vol. I, fig. 192. Here is no solar emblem, but a huge crescent, with horns turned downwards, surmounts and encloses the winged deity. The position in which, in these representations, the disk and crescent symbol is placed, is very significant. Assuming provisionally my hypothesis that it is primarily the moon's disk which is regarded as the "Lord's Face," the artist could not have expressed more vividly and emphatically that his work was consecrated to the "Mother" and "Mistress" thereof: לאם לירבת פננעל<sup>1</sup>.

The same significance may reasonably be ascribed to the winged female figure, in a kneeling posture, holding with both hands the disk against her hip or stomach, which appears on the coins of Mallos in Cilicia<sup>2</sup>, as well as to the standing figure in long robes, clasping the great disk to her breast, on two stelai from Sulcis<sup>3</sup>, and a small terra-cotta fragment, also found in Sardinia<sup>4</sup>, with which may be compared the terra-cotta statuettes shown in figs. 48 and 67 of the same volume.

With regard to some of these objects, the question has been raised whether the disk does not rather represent a tambourine. But it should be considered that, in the ritual of a lunar deity, the tambourine itself might easily come to be regarded as an image of the moon's disk. It is also well worth while to bear in mind that where the crescent moon was identified with a divine maiden, the waxing of the moon might very naturally be regarded as a pregnancy, and supposed to influence that of women, as well as of the ewes (עשתרות) of the flock. Here then we have another link between the celestial and the pastoral deity, besides that which is suggested by the moon's horns<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> I do not deny that פננעל and פננאל = θεοῦ πρὸς ὥπλον are "place-names"; I assert that they are derived from a local cultus of the Moon; the "numen loci" gives the "nomen."

<sup>2</sup> Perrot and Chipiez, *op. cit.*, II, p. 16.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, I, figs. 193, 233.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, II, fig. 14.

<sup>5</sup> On the latter point consult Robertson Smith, *Rel. Sem.*, 2nd ed.,

A little stele from Sulcis<sup>1</sup> bears merely the figure of an ewe surmounted by the disk and crescent. This in my opinion is neither more nor less than a representation of the deity who survives in the traditions of Israel under the names of Rachel and Ephrath. I should not be greatly surprised if, even now, stelai such as this were to be discovered in the neighbourhood of her reputed grave.

In view of the abundant evidence which has been adduced, it certainly appears to me that the opinion of the writer "De Dea Syra," "Astarte, in my belief, is the moon<sup>2</sup>", and that of Herodian that the Phoenicians calling Urania by the name of Astroarche, intended the moon thereby<sup>3</sup>, were expressed with remarkable moderation. It is difficult to see how they could have judged otherwise. And here I have to point out a singular error of Prof. Meyer<sup>4</sup>, the assumption that 'Αστροόρη is "corrupted from Astarte"; an assumption which is quite gratuitous, contradicts an elementary canon of criticism, and is finally disproved by the parallel expression of Damascius<sup>5</sup>, 'Αστρονό[μ]η. In either case "Star-rule" is evidently a paraphrase of some such equivalent as מִזְשֶׁלֶת השמים (cp. Gen. i. 16), signifying in the first place the abstract sovereignty<sup>6</sup>, and in the second the sovereign of the heavens, מְלִכַת הַשָּׁמַיִם, or more precisely of the stars, הַצִּבְאוֹת, הַכּוֹכָבִים, or even הַלֵּילָה. Probably by the strange punctuation מְלִכָּה<sup>7</sup> we are intended to understand, "not as say the heathen, *Queen of Heaven*, but rather *creature of God*." But it is just possible that as מְלֶאךְ אֱלֹהִים signifies a manifestation or impersonation of divinity, so מְלַאכָה

p. 478. He suggests that the horns, commonly found on Tanith cippi being concave outwards, must be the horns of sheep. Yet the sheep-symbols on these cippi are hornless.

<sup>1</sup> Perrot and Chipiez, op. cit., I, fig. 194.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., I, p. 69.

<sup>3</sup> Maspero, *Hist. Anc. des Peuples de l'Orient Classique*, tome II, p. 157, n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Art. Phoen., § 13.

<sup>5</sup> Maspero, *ibid.*, note 4.

<sup>6</sup> See Gesenius-Kautzsch, § 122 r with note 3.

<sup>7</sup> Jer. vii. 18; xlv. 17, 18, 19, 25.

הַשָּׁמַיִם might be used of an impersonation of the divinity of the heavens, the equivalent of פְּנִיכָעַל.

The question still remains, at what period and under what circumstances did Ishtar become a moon-goddess? Archaeology will in time decide. I must content myself with referring to the opinions expressed by Maspero in the second volume of his great history, p. 570, where he refers back the mixture of Egyptian and Assyrian style in the art of Phoenicia to the age of Egyptian dominion in Syria, to the nineteenth, and even the eighteenth dynasty; and further observes that the Egyptians of the Theban dynasties already admitted the identification of Hathor with the Ba'alath Gebal<sup>1</sup>.

Meanwhile we are bound to take into account those images of Ashtoreth—perhaps it would be better to say those '*ashtaroth*'—which do *not* exhibit lunar attributes<sup>2</sup>; a class of types which are broadly distinguished from those already described by the circumstance that they seem never to have been used on coins.

"Such, for instance, is that of the naked goddess, whose hands either lie on her abdomen or support her breasts<sup>3</sup>. Its vogue may have passed by the time the Phoenician towns began to strike money. Neither do we find the same goddess, sitting or standing, with a dove held against her chest<sup>4</sup>, nor the deity with wide hips, nor the one with a child in her arms<sup>5</sup>, in whom we have recognized a goddess presiding over pregnancy and maternity<sup>6</sup>."

Again, describing the terra-cottas furnished by the Sardinian graveyards, the same authors write<sup>7</sup>:—

"The first thing that strikes us when we begin to examine the series of statuettes found at Tharros and Sulcis, is that they all have their prototypes in Cyprus and Syria. Nothing is commoner in Cyprus than the naked goddess with her hands upon her breasts<sup>8</sup>; we have

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 570, notes 1, 4; *ibid.*, II, p. 174, n. 6; also pp. 484-6.

<sup>2</sup> Perrot and Chipiez, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 16, 52.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, *op. cit.*, I, fig. 150; II, fig. 15.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, I, figs. 20, 142.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, figs. 143, 144.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, II, pp. 16, 17.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, II, p. 52.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, II, fig. 45.

already met her in Sardinia<sup>1</sup>. It is the same with the robed and seated goddess<sup>2</sup>, who is encountered with a different head-dress, and her arms in another position, in the western island<sup>3</sup>. In Phoenicia, Cyprus, and Rhodes, no type was more popular than that of the woman, priestess or deity, who presses a dove against her breast; many examples have been found at Tharros, and in other Sardinian cemeteries; they<sup>4</sup> are, however, less careful in execution than their eastern congeners."

In the chapter especially devoted to Cyprus and Cypriot Sculpture<sup>5</sup>, a whole section deals with "Figures of Divinities," especially with those, often of extreme rudeness, which represent a goddess of Fertility under various forms.

"There was a whole series of monuments in which the goddess mother is shown seated upon a throne and holding her child across her knees<sup>6</sup>. This goddess no doubt presided over child-birth; Ariadne-Aphrodite was especially honoured at Amathus as the patroness of women in labour<sup>7</sup>. Several small groups in stone or terra-cotta have been found in Cyprus; they must have been ex-votos, to record some happy delivery. In one example<sup>8</sup>, now in the Louvre, we see a seated woman with another woman fainting upon her knees, while a third kneels before them with a baby in her arms<sup>9</sup>."

In such objects, we are dealing, not I think with a different class of deities, but with a different kind of worship, from that previously discussed; with the domestic cultus of the women as opposed to the public religion of the State. In the necropolis of Idalion, and in the oldest of the 15,000 tombs explored by Cesnola, representing the earliest period in the civilization of Cyprus, we are told<sup>10</sup>:

"A constant relation could be traced between the character of

<sup>1</sup> Perrot and Chipiez, II, fig. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., I, fig. 20.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., II, fig. 46.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., I, fig. 142.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., II, chap. ii.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., II, fig. 101.

<sup>7</sup> "In the sacred grove of Aphrodite-Ariadne at Amathus in Cyprus was also shown *her tomb*," Evans, op. cit., p. 22. Need I again refer to the death, and grave, of Rachel?

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., II, fig. 102.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., II, p. 151.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., I, p. 218.

the statuettes and the bronze instruments by which they were accompanied. Arms were found in the same tombs as figures of horsemen, of charioteers, or of foot-soldiers with shield and helmet; on the other hand, whenever mirrors, needles, and long hair-pins were encountered, they were sure to be accompanied by images of that mother-goddess, who is figured sometimes with her hands on her breasts, sometimes with them laid on her stomach<sup>1</sup>. This figure seems to have been reserved for the tombs of women, while those of warriors were placed by the coffins of men."

How tragic is this picture of the passions, toys, and prayers, of a race that has so long since descended into Sheol!

A connecting link between the two classes of *'ashtaroth* exists in the type, already described, which is "often found in Sardinia, both upon stelai<sup>2</sup> and in terra-cottas<sup>3</sup>, namely that of the veiled female who presses a large disk against her bosom with both hands"<sup>4</sup>. Here the mother-goddess is presented to our regard as specifically Mother of the Moon.

We have now passed in review the *'ashtar*, mother of the flock and of the clan—the Hebrew רחל; the general mother of the race, the goddess of fertility, the patron of the female sex—the אפרת of Israel; the personal Ishtar of Chaldean mythology, the mistress of the evening star and daughter of the Moon-god Sin; we have seen her "sovereign of the stars" and "Queen of the skies," herself regarded as Mother and Mistress of the Moon, which is in turn adored as the Face of the Lord of Heaven. The star of Ishtar sinks in the glowing west; that of Marduk rides high in the east; the waxing moon grows bright above Mediterranean waves; and for a moment the dead past seems again to live.

NOTE.—The vocalization, etymology, and meaning of תנת are alike unknown. I will merely draw attention to the possibility that as the Assyrian noun *tašmētu*, i. e. "hearing" (שמע), was employed

<sup>1</sup> Perrot and Chipiez, I, fig. 150.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., II, figs. 48, 67.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., I, figs. 193, 233.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., II, p. 52.



to describe the spouse of Nabû, whose name signifies to *call* (*Dawn of Civilization*, p. 672, note 6), so *tanâttu* or *tanittu* "majesty" (נֹאֲדָר) may have been applied to Sin's consort (*šarratu*), and have been transferred by the Phoenicians to a lunar Ashtoreth of their own. In the same way the Hebrew תִּרְחָ (pointed as a Segholate) may be referred to an Assyrian *târḫu* (√תִּרַח or יִרַח), a possible epithet of the moon. In connexion with much that has been said in the text, I may also cite the masc. proper name *Pân-Ašûr-la-mur* "may I see the face of Ashur," Delitzsch, *Ass. Gr.*, E. T., § 65, 32 *a* and *b*, § 93, p. 260.

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